

Message Text

SECRET

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DRAFTED BY AF:WBEDMONDSON:EW

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S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 300726 TOSEC 320186

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH, TA

SUBJECT: REPEATING TEXT OF YOUR SEPT 25 LETTER TO NYERERE

1. FOLLOWING PARAS REPEAT TEXT OF LETTER YOU SENT TO PRESIDENT NYERERE VIA STATE 239413 (DTG 252054Z SEP 76) WHICH IS SIMILAR TO LETTER SENT PRESIDENT KAUNDA SAME DATE (REPEATED SEPTTEL), EITHER OF WHICH MAY BE SUBJECT OF REFERENCE IN LONDON DAILY MAIL ARTICLE OF DECEMBER 9.
2. BEGIN TEXT: "DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I UNDERSTAND FROM AMBASSADOR SPAIN'S CONVERSATION WITH YOU THAT YOU WILL BE MEETING PRESIDENT KAUNDA VERY SHORTLY TO DISCUSS THE RHODESIAN SITUATION. I ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH YOU.
3. "THERE ARE SEVERAL POINTS, IN MY JUDGMENT, THAT ALL OF US MUST KEEP IN MIND AS WE CONSIDER WHAT IAN SMITH SAID. FIRST, SMITH'S REMARKS WERE ADDRESSED TO AN AUDIENCE WHICH COULD ONLY RECEIVE THE NEWS WITH A DEEP SENSE OF SHOCK. HE THEREFORE USED LANGUAGE WE WOULD NOT HAVE RECOMMENDED BUT WHICH HAS TO BE UNDERSTOOD. SECOND, THE SALISBURY

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AUTHORITIES ARE NOW IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO MAJORITY

RULE WITHIN A TWO-YEAR PERIOD. THIRD, THEY ARE ALSO COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF A BLACK MAJORITY INTERIM

GOVERNMENT. FOURTH, THE SIXTH POINT IN SMITH'S ANNOUNCEMENT--THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM--IS A MATTER FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE MEMBERS OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM AND NOT A SUBJECT ON WHICH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS NEED TAKE A POSITION. FIFTH, THE SPECIFICITY OF SMITH'S PROPOSALS ARE DUE IN LARGE PART TO OUR PRESSURE. WE FEARED THAT A GENERAL PROPOSAL WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE HIM TO PROCRASTINATE LATER.

4. "WITH RESPECT TO THE SPECIFIC CONCERNS YOU HAVE WITH THE SMITH ANNOUNCEMENT, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS.

-- I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A MEETING TO NEGOTIATE THE FORMATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT NEED TAKE PLACE IN SALISBURY OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN RHODESIA. NOR DO I BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO HOLD SUCH A MEETING IN LONDON. WE ARE PREPARED AS YOU AND I DISCUSSED TO BACK THE CONVENING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ANY OTHER PLACE MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TO ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

-- THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY THAT, UNDER THE PROPOSALS, SMITH CAN RUN THE SHOW. INDEED, ONCE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS FORMED, THE PRESENT STRUCTURE IN SALISBURY WOULD DISAPPEAR.

-- IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT EACH SIDE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE FREE TO NOMINATE ITS COMMUNITY'S REPRESENTATIVES TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE. EVEN THOUGH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD BE EUROPEAN, IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO BE SELECTED WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE OTHER MEMBERS. IN SHORT, HIS SELECTION COULD ONLY BE BASED ON A CONSENSUS OF THE MEMBERS AT LARGE.

-- THE UNITED STATES WILL PROMOTE NO INDIVIDUAL OR FACTION ON THE AFRICAN SIDE. THAT RESPONSIBILITY FALLS TO THE RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS AND IN THIS MATTER YOU HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY.

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5. "I BELIEVE THAT THE OTHER QUESTIONS RAISED BY IAN SMITH'S STATEMENT ARE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION. IT IS MY JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, THAT AN UNGENEROUS RESPONSE TO SMITH'S STATEMENT WILL GIVE HIM THE CHANCE WHICH HE MAY WISH TO BACK AWAY FROM HIS COMMITMENT. WE MUST AVOID SUCH AN EVENTUALITY AT ALL COSTS. THE PROPOSALS WHICH WE ADVANCED TO SMITH ARE A DISTILLATION OF THE CONSULTATIONS WE HAD

WITH YOU, THE OTHER FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND THE UK.

WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING MATTERS THIS FAR AND CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS IF THE FRAMEWORK WHICH THE SMITH ANNOUNCEMENT OFFERS DOES NOT LEAD TO NEGOTIATIONS. A BREAKDOWN IN THE SETTLEMENT AT THIS POINT COULD ONLY LEAD TO CONTINUED ESCALATING VIOLENCE, SO A DECISION NOT TO ACCEPT THE OPPORTUNITY NOW OFFERED WOULD BE A SERIOUS ONE. THE OPPORTUNITY NOW PRESENTED WILL NOT RETURN. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW, IN SHORT, IS A POSITIVE RESPONSE WHICH WILL MAINTAIN MOMENTUM. A POSITIVE RESPONSE IS NEEDED FROM THE AFRICAN LEADERS NOW BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THAT CONTINUED US PRESSURE MAY BE NECESSARY TO KEEP THE RHODESIANS TO THE EXECUTION OF THE CONDITIONS IN THE PROPOSALS. THIS WE PLEDGE IF THE AFRICAN RESPONSE ENABLES NEGOTIATIONS TO GO FORWARD.

6. "I LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING YOURS AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND PRESIDENT KHAMA'S VIEWS. WITH WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER." END TEXT.
ROBINSON

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